**PLANT CLOSURES MENACE UNIONS**
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*Build a Labor Party Now!*

# THE MILITANT

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# Fear Studebaker Will Spark Industry Wage-Cut Offensive

## New Probe Body Will Not Curb Fascist Senator

By George Breitman
SWP Candidate for U.S. Senator in N.J.

The newest Senate committee to "probe" McCarthy, which will begin public hearings in Washington on Aug. 30, has been praised by McCarthy himself as "a good bunch of people."

McCarthy evidently believes he has nothing to fear from this six-member committee, appointed after the Senate ducked direct action on the Flanders resolution to censure the Wisconsin fascist. And in this belief McCarthy is justified.

The six Senators have this in common—they are all conservatives, and none is up for re-election to the Senate this year. The Republicans are Watkins (Utah), who will serve as chairman; Francis Case (S.D.), author of an early version of the Taft-Hartley Law; and Carlson (Kan.), a personal friend of Eisenhower. Two of the Democrats, Stennis (Miss.) and Ervin (N.C.), are from the South, and the third, Edwin Johnson (Col.), also votes frequently with the GOP-Dixiecrat coalition.

There is a third distinction shared by these six, however, which commended them most of all to the Senate leaders (and to McCarthy). And that is their record of never having taken a public stand on McCarthyism. In other words, they either are not opponents of McCarthy or they haven't had the courage to condemn him up to now.

It is not likely that they will suddenly change character overnight. If they were afraid to get in McCarthy's way before as his fellow Senators, they will probably be even more cautious about arousing his wrath now as investigators.

**In this connection it is significant that the committee lost no time in granting McCarthy's major demand in return for his cooperation—his right to "cross-examine" witnesses, which in practice always turns out to be his right to smear them. But the Senators who brought charges against McCarthy will not have the right to question witnesses.**

WHAT TO EXPECT

Whatever this committee does—whether or not it lets McCarthy dominate the proceedings as he did at the Army hearings; whether or not it completes the hearings and prepares a report in time for the Senate to reconvene and vote on it before the November elections—there is no reason for believing that the present probe will result in any more decisive action against McCarthyism than all the previous probes.

**"Few Washington correspondents, if any, believe that the Senate will take any significant action at this session affecting Senator Joseph R. McCarthy," wrote Roscoe Drummond in the Aug. 7 Christian Science Monitor. "The odds are that it will find a dignified and honorable way for the Senate to do noth-**

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## New York SWP Names Candidates For State Office

DAVID L. WEISS

CATHERINE GRATTA

**NEW YORK, Aug. 8 — A special legislative convention of the Socialist Workers Party met today to consider its platform for the 1954 election in New York and to select its candidates.**

Those nominated are David L. Weiss of New York City for Governor, Dorothy Haines of Buffalo for Lieutenant Governor, Catherine Gratta of Brooklyn for State Attorney General and Harold Robins of New York City for State Comptroller.

Weiss headed the party's ticket in the 1953 New York mayoralty contest. Catherine Gratta was the party's candidate for President of the City Council. Robins ran for President of the Borough of Manhattan in 1949. Dorothy Haines is running for office for the first time.

The keynote of the conference was the struggle against McCarthyism, the American form of fascism. David L. Weiss declared that labor, which is the main target of McCarthyism, must begin mobilizing against the fascist senator if it is not to suffer the fate of the German labor movement.

"The powerful American trade unions," he declared, "can easily stop McCarthyism dead in its tracks. But to do that it must take the road to independent political action. Once the unions begin a militant struggle against McCarthy's fascist movement, it is a certainty that the bulk of the minority peoples and the middle class will back it to the end.

"What America needs today is a revival of labor militancy, above all on the political field. That is the only field where the burning problems of the day — war, unemployment, insecurity and fascism can be solved."

## Negro Official Screened Off Air-force Job

**NEWARK, Aug. 10 — An official of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People has been purged out of his civilian government job here on the ground that he has associated with alleged "communists" although he contends that he tried to get them kicked out of the NAACP.**

The latest victim of guilt by association is Theodore Griffin, 54, of Asbury Park and president of the NAACP branch in that city. The job from which he has been suspended was supply inspector, paying $80 a week, with the Air Force wing here in Newark.

At a Security Board hearing last Wednesday, Griffin, who was suspended in June, was asked to explain why he "maintained sympathetic association" with three persons alleged to be "communists."

His answer was that he had "encountered" them in the course of his duties as NAACP president since 1951, but had never associated with any of them "socially." He said two of the three "suspects" were members of the NAACP branch.

**As evidence of his own "loyalty," Griffin added that while he could not prove they were "communists" he had become suspicious of them because of the "tenor" of letters they had written to local newspapers, and had tried to get them removed from NAACP membership.**

But, he added, he had declined to identify them to the Security Board as "communists" because he had no proof.

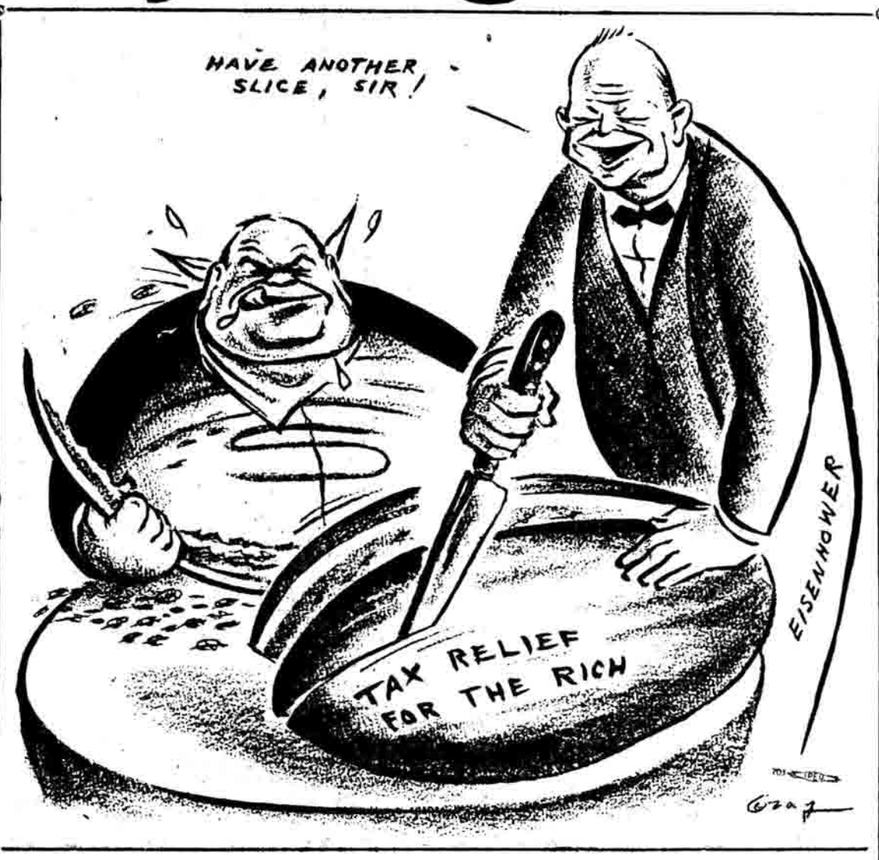
Griffin also assured the press that the NAACP is in no way involved in his case, although the national legal department of the NAACP is now aiding him with counsel.

SINISTER PRECEDENT

This case, which has now gone to the Department of Air Force for decision, is significant in several respects:

**(1) A sinister precedent is being set not only for the NAACP but for labor too. If Griffin can be fired for meeting and knowing alleged "communists" belonging to his organization, then what local union president in a plant with a government contract is safe?**

(2) Under the Brownell "communist infiltration" bill being demanded by the White House, the Attorney General would have the power in this case not only to fire Griffin but to order the NAACP to disband.




## Govt. Fabricates Weird Unemployment Figures

By Joseph Keller

**The government continues to manufacture weird statistics on the economic situation. Official unemployment figures border on sheer fantasy.**

For the month ending the second week in July, farm employment fell by 142,000, according to the U.S. Bureau of Census. The U.S. Bureau of Labor Statistics reports that in the same period non-farm payrolls decreased 289,000. Manufacturing payrolls alone dropped by 227,000.

What does this add up to? Why, a "decline of 1,000" in the total number of unemployed, according to the Census Bureau, which lists July unemployment at 3,346,000. Out of a rise in farm and factory layoffs of almost 400,000, the government contrives a fall of exactly a "1,000" in the jobless total. That's as neat a feat of statistical legerdemain as we've ever seen.

**Even the Aug. 9 Wall Street Journal approaches these government figures with caution: "In contemplating such statistics, it is well to remember, of course, that they are only estimates, or even guesses, based on pretty small samplings."**

HOW THE TRICK'S DONE

Here are a couple of ways the government improved its "guestimates" to conceal the real extent of unemployment.

Instead of the usual 1,800,000 students who enter the labor market after June graduations, this year the government figures account for only 1,500,000. What happened to the other 300,000? For some reason, they just "aren't looking" for jobs this summer.

**Now, suppose the boss tells you you're laid off, but come around again in thirty days and he might have something for you. The Census Bureau counts you as "employed, but not working." The July figures contain an estimated 298,000 such "temporary layoffs" which the Census Bureau uses to swell, not the unemployed, but the employed total.**

"COMPARATIVELY STABLE"

The "guestimates" fit neatly into the pattern of the administration's campaign to convince us that the economic decline is "beaten" and that the economic future is rosy. They have a special phrase to cover the situation. It is "comparatively stable," as Secretary of Commerce Mitchell and Secretary of Labor Weeks agreed in a joint statement. "Comparatively stable" sounds pleasant and reassuring.

What it really means is that everything is standing where it was—nothing is moving ahead. Nothing, that is, except the population. That's growing at the rate of between 2,500,000 and 3,000,000 a year. If the economy doesn't expand with the population, what we have is not "comparative stability" but actual decline.

AFL COUNCIL WARNING

This fact is stressed in a statement of the AFL executive council, meeting in New York City on Aug. 10. It correctly warns:

"The American people must not be lulled into a false sense of security by comparison of

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## Reuther Bureaucracy Capitulates to Threat Ot Company Shutdown

By Fred Talbot

**DETROIT, Aug. 8 — American labor would do well to watch very closely the events in South Bend, Indiana. There, the Studebaker Corporation, in a letter sent yesterday to each worker personally, threatened to end the union contract, close down its plant and throw 11,000 out of jobs unless the union agrees to a wage cut of from 15% to 20%.**

This is no small or obscure firm. Studebaker is one of the few auto companies that have survived the savage competition since World War I. Its name is known to every child. Its action, if successful, will have great symbolic significance.

If Studebaker puts over its demanded wage cut, it will embolden other corporations to try the same thing. It may well signal the launching of a general wage-slashing offensive by Big Business.

The corporation had asked for the cut in the form of elimination of an incentive bonus paid to all plant workers when production exceeded the quota for 20 hours.

(Acceptance of the company proposal was recommended by officers of the Studebaker Local 5 and by the Reuther leadership of the United Auto Workers. After first turning down the proposal by a 3 to 2 vote, the membership was argued into accepting the proposal at a meeting Aug. 12.)

Included in the proposal were seniority changes allowing the company to assign jobs at its discretion, tightened disciplinary clauses, elimination of premium holiday pay, and reduced shift differentials.

**The company has laid off 12,000 out of 23,000 employes since last spring. It has given the rest an average of two days work per week since February. The average wage is only $35 a week. Cut that by $5 to $7 and a worker would be scarcely worse off if he were out of work altogether and drawing unemployment compensation.**

"COMPETITION" ARGUMENT

In attempting to sell the deal to the workers, the union officials said that wages at Studebaker average $2.37 an hour while the average at the big three (General Motors, Ford, Chrysler) is only $2.07. They claimed it is necessary to bring down the Studebaker wages to the level of the big three "in order to improve the competitive position of Studebaker, which will create more work for Studebaker workers in the future."

This is the latest in a series of moves by various companies in the auto industry to break union wages and conditions with the threat of going out of business "because we can't compete."

In April of this year the workers of the Kaiser-Willys plant at Toledo were forced to accept a similar proposal, advocated by the local union officers, the company and the International. Willys jobs were then "stabilized" by shutting the plant for the summer. At that time the Militant pointed out that this was only the beginning.

Pressed Metals of America, an auto parts manufacturer at Marysville, Michigan, is now threatening to go out of business if the union contract is not junked and a completely new one removing many seniority rights and lowering piece rates substituted. By its own admission, this company is in a sound financial condition, but wants to be assured of good profits in spite of the depression, at the expense of the workers.

REUTHER CAPITULATES

So far the Reuther leadership of the UAW has capitulated completely to the various company demands for wage cuts and increased speedup. How this jibes with Reuther's economic

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## AFL Leadership Urges People to Censure Congress

**The American Federation of Labor executive council, meeting in New York on Aug. 10, charged that the 83rd Congress "has earned a vote of censure from the American people" because it has "failed the workers, the farmers and the nation's consumers."**

The AFL indictment assailed Congress for failing, among other things, to counteract "the corroding effects of continuing high unemployment," to amend the Taft-Hartley Law, to raise the 75 cent minimum wage, to "provide necessary tax relief for workers in low income groups," to authorize an adequate housing program, to pass FEPC legislation, etc.

But what does the AFL leadership propose to do about it? What form of "censure" does it advocate?

**Stated briefly, the program of the AFL executive council is to replace the Republican 83rd Congress with a Democratic 84th Congress.**

But would the election of a Democratic Congress result in enactment of the legislation supported by the labor movement?

Recent history demonstrates that the answer is NO. The 82nd and 81st Congresses were both controlled by the Democrats, with a Democrat in the White House. Yet both stubbornly refused to pass any progressive legislation.

The 84th Congress, if controlled by the Democrats, would not differ from its predecessors.

**The only effective way to "censure" Congress is by ending its control by both capitalist parties and putting it under the control of the working people, organized into an independent Labor Party.**

Until that's done, Congress will remain an obstacle to the workers' hopes for a better life.

## McCarthy Suspects Her for Getting Better Job

**Mrs. Annie Lee Moss is a typical victim of McCarthyism. She is also a living example of the appeasement of McCarthyism practiced by the capitalist politicians and government bureaucrats who are supposed to be staunch opponents of McCarthyism.**

Mrs. Moss is not the kind of person who usually figures in sensational headlines. A 48-year-old Negro widow, a lifelong Democrat and an active churchgoer, she used to be a waitress in the Pentagon cafeteria. On qualifying for the job, she became a mechanical teletype operator. In this position, which paid her $64 a week, she transmitted coded messages, of whose meaning she was "entirely ignorant," according to the Army.

Mrs. Moss probably would have finished out her days in this routine and obscure occupation — if not for McCarthy.

Last February, the fascist Senator badly needed a new charge of "communist coddling" to hurl against the Army after Secretary Stevens protested his activities in the Peress-Zwicker affair. As is usual in such situations, the services of professional informers were quickly made available, and one of them was brought forward to denounce Mrs. Moss as a former member of the Communist Party. That's why and how Mrs. Moss became a minor actor in the big drama of McCarthy's drive to infiltrate and take over the armed forces.

PILLORIED AND PURGED

First the Pentagon transferred Mrs. Moss to another job. Then she was pilloried by McCarthy and threatened by him with an indictment for perjury if she denied the informer's story. At this point, the frightened Pentagon suspended her from her job. Only after that did she get a chance to testify in her own behalf.

**Under oath Mrs. Moss swore that she had never belonged to the Communist Party. She pointed out that there were three Annie Lee Mosses in the Washington directory. The professional informer could not identify her in the hearing room. The case began to look like what it was — a frameup.**

ANNIE LEE MOSS

So she was restored to her job — temporarily — and her name dropped out of the news.

Until July 27, on the eve of the Senate debate over whether or not to censure McCarthy. Then the fascist from Wisconsin, appearing before a Senate rules committee, served notice that he was "not finished" with Mrs. Moss yet.

**The Moss case "smells to high heaven," McCarthy said. With an arrogance reeking of white supremacist and anti-working class prejudices, he demanded to know how this Negro woman had obtained her job: "I am still curious why this woman, who had no education, was promoted from a job in the cafeteria to handling coded documents."**

This hint was enough to throw the Pentagon into a new panic. On Aug. 4 they announced the second suspension of Mrs. Moss. Elated, McCarthy publicly complimented Army Secretary Stevens.

The second suspension of Mrs. Moss was allegedly based on a report that a Communist Party card had been issued to an "Annie Lee Moss" in 1943. Through her lawyer Mrs. Moss repeated her denial, saying she had never even seen such a card, and promising to lodge an appeal within 30 days.

**Was it the correct "Mrs. Moss" this time? Was there any more substance to the new charge than to the old one? Was there any real evidence against Annie Lee Moss?**

PENTAGON PANIC

The Pentagon didn't stop to find out. McCarthy himself, speaking to the American Legion in Chicago on Aug. 7, laughingly told the story of Mrs. Moss' latest suspension:

Copies of a new FBI report, repeating the old discredited charges against Mrs. Moss, had been sent to the Pentagon. (Such reports are generally composed of hearsay, gossip and "unevaluated" charges.) The Pentagon authorities, not wanting it to fall into McCarthy's hand, called all copies back in. To their consternation one copy could not be located. Fearing that "Joe had it" — "Actually, I didn't," he said — "the Army promptly suspended her. The ironic thing is that within an hour they found the missing copy."

But there is nothing ironic about the plight of Mrs. Moss. Out of her job again, she must continue the costly and difficult battle of proving to skeptical and frightened Army officials that she is a victim of a frameup or mistaken identity, or both. And if she fails to convince them, then she faces the threat of imprisonment for "perjury."

**And why? Because a defenseless Negro woman is like a pebble in the path of a fascist demagogue. And because the capitalist way of opposing McCarthy — as exemplified by the Pentagon — is to imitate and appease him.**

# McCarthy, Cohn And Anti-Semitism

By Art Preis

As reported in last week's Militant, the biggest assemblage of fascist Jew-baiters since the heyday of the German-American Bund and Father Coughlin's Christian Front in 1939 gathered in New York's Hotel Astor Grand Ballroom on July 26 for a $7-a-plate testimonial dinner to Senator Joseph McCarthy's ex-aide Roy Cohn—a Jew. The chairman of the banquet and the most strident advocate of fascist terrorism against liberal groups like the Americans for Democratic Action (ADA) was also a Jew—Rabbi Benjamin Schultz, co-ordinator of the Joint Committee Against Communism. In addition, the speakers included Alfred Kohlberg of the China Lobby and the American-Jewish League Against Communism.

Seldom has this country witnessed a weirder spectacle than this mobilization of leading McCarthyites, the most rabidly anti-Semitic elements in New York, cheering for a Jew and howling their approval of the fascistic utterances of two Jewish speakers. At the same time, this mob yelled loudest for the chief speaker of the evening, fascist McCarthy himself.

How can we consider the McCarthyites anti-Semites when they pay tribute to a Jew so publicly and their leader has fought, ostensibly, to defend him? And how can we describe McCarthy as the American Hitler and the leader of the American form of fascism when he has the support of some Jews—even a rabbi?

### ANTI-SEMITE FOLLOWERS

Of course, the openly anti-Semitic fascists — whom everyone recognizes as such—acknowledge McCarthy as their supreme spokesman. They do not doubt he is a fascist like Hitler. But some of them have expressed puzzlement at his failure to come out as an open anti-Semite, or at least at the fact that he has used Jews for his purposes.

Thus, the American Nationalist, a fascist sheet specializing in anti-Semitic scurrility, as long ago as May 25, 1953, under the headline, "McCarthy Embarrassed by Jewish Assistants," complained:

**"Fighting Joe McCarthy's campaign against Communism has been seriously set back by the ridiculous antics of his two young Jewish chief assistant investigators, David Schine, 26, and Roy Cohn, 25 . . . McCarthy's real reason for surrounding himself with Jewish assistants on the Senate Investigating Committee has never been clear."**

### McCARTHY'S GAME

But McCarthy is shrewder than some of his followers—or, rather, there is a division of labor between them. Elements like the backers of the American Nationalist continue to spread anti-Semitic prejudice and propagandize the fascist ideology openly and fully. McCarthy seeks to win a huge following among people who might be swayed by his "anti-Communist" appeal but who would shy away if they believed he is a fascist.

Anti-Semitism has been so identified with Nazism and the fascist ideology that open Jew-baiting now arouses suspicion and fear of fascism. McCarthy, at least at this stage of his movement, seeks to avoid the label of fascism even though he pursues its objectives. Consequently he has deliberately and cleverly used Jews, like Cohn and Schine, to conceal the fascist character of his program and movement.

**The anti-Semite's tribute to Cohn has helped McCarthy pull the slickest trick of the year. On the one hand, he has rid himself of an aide who, by virtue of the fact that he happens to be a Jew, embarrasses McCarthy with his main followers, the anti-Semitic fascists. On the other hand, he has done this under cover of an apparent friendliness to certain Jews that enables him to escape the stigma of an anti-Semitism that would call too close attention to the parallel between McCarthyism and Hitlerism.**

It is true that 6,000,000 Jews were murdered by the Nazis. This has misled many American Jews—and many American people generally—into believing that anti-Semitism is the chief characteristic of a fascist movement. They do not understand the social and class basis of fascism and that its basic objective is to destroy the organized labor movement in order to safeguard capitalism.

Since fascism has come into disrepute, there has even been a propaganda attempt to link it falsely with communism. This is intended to conceal the fact that decayed capitalism itself spawns fascism as a system of violent political rule designed to wipe out the opponents of the profits system and to crush labor.

Proponents of this theory, that seeks to cast off capitalism's responsibility for fascism, naturally don't like to see McCarthy tagged as a fascist. McCarthy is

ROY COHN

a Roman Catholic. He is an ardent pro-capitalist who is being financed by Texas oil billionaires. He is virulently anti-labor. And, of course, he is the most aggressive opponent of socialism and communism, which include, for him, anything to the left of his own ultra-reactionary views.

But if McCarthy, the most savage defender of American capitalism and opponent of socialism, is also the most serious contender for the title of American Hitler, then this helps destroy the argument that fascism is somehow linked to socialism and communism.

**On the contrary, it helps to prove, as we Marxists have always said, that fascism is a product of capitalism at a certain stage, its most bestial political method for putting down the working class and preventing the triumph of any anti-capitalist movement. McCarthyism — the American form of fascism — is the inevitable end-product of U.S. capitalism if it is not replaced in time by socialism.**

### SERVANTS OF FASCISM

We actually find some Jews, primarily among the middle class and rich (most Jews are poor workers or insecure lower middle-class elements), who support the anti-labor and anti-communist aspects of fascism and who regret that its anti-Semitic factor prevents them from playing a fascist role. Some very few Jews try to be of such service to the fascists that they will get some personal privileges.

The Nazis themselves used a few Jews of this type who were ready to serve the anti-Semitic murderers in return for personal favors and a little better treatment. These miserable creatures, like those who turned stoolpigeon for the Nazis during the heroic Warsaw Jewish uprising, are described in John Hersey's novel, "The Wall." In America today, there are opportunist scoundrels like Cohn and Rabbi Schultz who are willing to sell themselves to the fascists.

### WILL USE ANTI-SEMITISM

An opportunist fascist scoundrel like McCarthy, of course, makes use of such Jews when it serves his purpose. But such purpose is limited. He'll use open anti-Semitism before his movement is too far along.

**Fascism requires scapegoats—and racial scapegoats are the most convenient. Anti-Semitism is one of the most widespread prejudices permeating capitalist society. McCarthy will undoubtedly resort to this convenient means for inciting his followers and winning new recruits. He is too slick a demagogue to miss this trick.**

If McCarthyism triumphs, it will scourge the American Jews with a ferocity that will surpass Hitler's. The Jewish people can escape the tragic fate of their European brethren only by recognizing that McCarthyism, despite its use of the Cohns and Schultzes, is fascism; that it is deadly anti-Semitic; and that it can be defeated only in a fighting coalition with organized labor and its allies to win the socialist future.

## Highest Layoff Rate

**The factory layoff rate was the highest for any June in five years, while the hiring rate was the lowest for that month since the end of World War II, the Bureau of Labor Statistics reported early this month.**

# Plant Shut-downs Threaten Unions

By Carl Goodman

**The threat of the Studebaker Corporation to close its plant and cease operations unless the workers agree to a 15% to 20% reduction in pay is part of a growing national pattern of union-busting.**

Besides shutdowns there is also a wholesale movement under way for companies to move into the South or in any case away from areas where they have been established and where the workers have succeeded in organizing and forcing the companies to come to terms. For instance, James B. Carey, President of the International Union of Electrical Workers, CIO, recently accused General Electric of planning to break up seven big plants into scores of smaller ones to be located in towns with wage levels 80 cents to $1 lower than those in the present job centers.

### NO HOLDS BARRED

"States are competing for new businesses in a no-holds-barred rivalry that has grown more acute as conditions make manufacturers increasingly cost-conscious," says A. H. Raskin in the N.Y. Times of July 26. "Municipally built factories, tax exemptions, lower labor costs and immunity from unionization are among the bait held out to attract industry from one area to another."

The South, he says, is taking the lead in offering these attractive inducements to employers that want to get rid of union restraints.

Raskin describes the competition among areas as a "civil war" among sections of the country, but what is really involved is a "civil war" between capital and labor. As the economic decline continues, and financial difficulties increase, the corporations look upon the gains in wages and conditions made by the labor movement in the past as intolerable burdens. Shutting down, moving to the South or out of established localities is an instrument for fighting the unions and restoring the more profitable open-shop conditions.

Here are some examples of the "battles" fought in the plant shutdown "civil war."

On June 24, the directors of Alexander Smith, Inc. permanently closed the company's carpet factory in Yonkers, N. Y., throwing some 2,000 workers out of jobs. These workers, members of the Textile Workers of America, CIO, were on strike for eleven weeks because they refused to accept contract revisions proposed by the company. These changes would have undermined wages and working conditions.

The Alexander Smith company then announced the permanent closing of the Yonkers plant, stating that the move had been planned even before the strike began. All the company's production will be carried on in Greenville, Miss., where the company has operated a factory for the past year.

According to Raskin, the Greenville plant is the most modern in the carpet industry. It was built by the town government which floated a municipal bond issue of $4,750,000. The company invested $10,000,000 for machinery and equipment. Alexander Smith will pay a rental to the town of Greenville of $300,000 a year until the bonds are retired. Afterwards, it will pay only a nominal rent. Besides providing Alexander Smith with a brand new plant, the town has exempted the company from paying taxes on its equipment for five years with the possibility that the exemption will be continued for ten years.

The Greenville plant has no union, and according to the TWU, the wage scales are 30 to 50 cents below those prevailing in the Yonkers plant. The Greenville plant also has higher work quotas for its workers. This will allow Alexander Smith to operate at Greenville with only 400 workers instead of 2,200 in Yonkers.

### PANTHER VALLEY

Another battle in the "civil war" took place in Panther Valley, Pennsylvania in the anthracite coal industry. At the end of last June, the Lehigh Coal and Navigation Co. announced the permanent shutdown of all its mines in the valley. Some 4,500 miners lost their jobs. The company closed the collieries last May because of "excessive operating losses." On May 28 it offered to reopen the mines on a "work harder, produce more" plan.

The plan would have entailed the same wage rate but a serious reduction in the work force. John L. Lewis, President of the United Mine Workers of America, accepted the plan, but the Tamaqua, Pa. local of the United Mine Workers—one of seven locals in the valley—refused to go along with the proposal and convinced workers in the other locals not to return to work. The company then announced the permanent closing of the mines.

The Tamaqua local offered the company a substitute plan. The members proposed that no changes in working conditions take place, but the miners would grant the company 20 payless workdays per year in case the company was not making any profits. This would have guaranteed the company $1,500,000 per year. The local disputed the company's claim that it was losing money and demanded that the company open its financial books to inspection to the public and the union.

### DO-NOTHING RESPONSE

**The growth of unemployment in general and the attacks on union conditions through shutdowns or migrations in particular represent a serious threat to the labor movement. What are the labor leaders doing about it? So far they have confined themselves to statements about the need for full employment and prosperity. But they refuse to even get together, and they have no program.**

Thus the Textile Workers Union took out a large ad in the N.Y. Times on July 1 to give the public the startling news that if there had been "prosperity, full employment and a rising standard of living in the nation as a whole" the Yonkers plant might not have shut down. "To this extent the tragedy of Alexander Smith in Yonkers is a lesson to the nation," the union concluded.

All this may be very true, but it doesn't win a single job back. How is the "nation" to restore "prosperity, full employment and a rising standard of living"? About this, the TWU has nothing to say. The union, a member of the powerful CIO, has no program to offer, only a sermon and a prayer.

**The union leaders try to meet each threat as it comes, and then with nothing but blind, stop-gap measures, or hair-brained schemes, when they don't agree to undermine union conditions outright at the employer's bidding.**

### A LOAN FOR THE BOSS

Another device is to back "good" employers against "bad" ones. That is how the International Ladies Garment Workers Union is trying to meet the menace of garment shops moving to the South where they can operate under open-shop conditions. According to the July 27 N.Y. Times, President David Dubinsky of the ILGWU has a "double-barreled" program. The union is building a plant in the South at a cost of $40,000 which it will turn over to a New York manufacturer to operate under union conditions. That is the first barrel.

Then the union is loaning $20,000, interest-free, to another employer to expand a union shop he has been running for years in the South. That is the second barrel. And this blast of a double-barreled pop-gun is all that the bureaucrats of this rich and powerful union have to offer in order to preserve their union. This is not a program, but a miserable substitute for one.

Clearly the labor movement cannot solve the problem of layoffs, shut-downs, "run-away" firms and migrations on an individual basis. What is required is united action. That is why it is imperative that the union leaders call a Congress of Labor and adopt a fighting program to meet the growing economic crisis. Such a program must include a united fight to win the 30-hour work week at 40 hours pay; unionization of the South; the fight for unemployment compensation at full union wages for the duration of the period of joblessness; and the building of a Labor Party.

## *Rabid Warmongers*

**Francis Cardinal Spellman (right) greets South Korea's dictator President Syngman Rhee at the Veterans of Foreign Wars 55th national encampment in Philadelphia. VFW Natl. Commander Wayne Richards is in center. Rhee called for immediate renewal of the Korean War and a world war against the Soviet Union, Eastern Europe and China.**

# ...Studebaker Threat

(Continued from page 1)

theories of increasing the purchasing power of the workers to solve the problem of overproduction is not explained. It is clear that he hasn't got the guts to give his own theories a try.

Studebaker officials said the revisions would result in only a $60 saving on a $2,000 car, and they declined to state definitely whether even that much of a cut in price would be ordered if the plan were accepted. Studebakers now sell at about $135 above the big three low-priced cars, and it is not believed that a $60 cut in price would result in much increased sales.

### JOB ELIMINATION

What is really involved in the Studebaker proposals as well as in others of the same character is an attempt on the company's part to have a free hand in introducing new labor saving devices and in speeding up the workers. Even the present phoney incentive plans act as a brake on the increased profits resulting from the tremendous increase in production made possible by the fabulous new methods of automation.

It is at this point that the arguments of the Reuther leadership in supporting such proposals appear most ludicrous. They claim that to save the jobs of the workers at certain plants it is necessary to grant the companies some "relief." This relief, so graciously granted to the corporations out of the pockets and sweat of production workers, is going to be used to **eliminate jobs.**

In proposing a plan similar to the one at Studebaker, an executive of Pressed Metals said: "What we want is that the workers take a pay cut and the union give us a contract that will permit us to streamline so that we can compete with other companies." **"Streamline" means nothing more or less than doing the same job with less labor . . . eliminating jobs.**

### CAN'T AFFORD CUT

The attitude of the Studebaker workers who have been living on $35 a week due to short work schedules was expressed by one worker who said, "We just can't afford a cut. Sure, we want to see this plant running full speed again, but why take it out of our hides? Why not raise the wages and get some decent conditions at Ford and General Motors?" That was an often asked question at the heated meeting which turned down the international-sponsored proposal.

The daily newspapers in Detroit are congratulating Reuther and company on their "civic responsibility" in sponsoring wage cuts. The Studebaker workers showed greater responsibility, civic, union, and otherwise, and a little good old-fashioned working-class solidarity too, when they turned down the cut and answered: "RAISE THE WAGES OF THE BIG THREE!"

# ...New Probe Body Won't Curb M'Carthy

(Continued from page 1)

**ing," echoed the Boston Herald the next day.**

Why is McCarthy able to escape discipline by the Senate? Sen. Fulbright (D-Ark.), according to the Aug. 6 Alsop column, attributes it partly to McCarthy's skill in exploiting the weaknesses of the other Senators.

### FULBRIGHT'S ANALYSIS

For one thing, McCarthy knows how to "paralyze his adversaries by sensing their anger and creating in them a sense of furious frustration, thus reducing them to inarticulate sputterings." Fulbright admits that during the debate on the Flanders resolution he got "so damned mad" when McCarthy called him "Halfbright" that he left out of his reply most of what he had intended to say.

For another thing, Fulbright says McCarthy has a talent for "rendering himself invisible to those who do not want to see him," especially among the older Senators who "have got into the curious habit of pretending that McCarthy does not exist. In a sense, they live in the past, in the Senate they used to know . . ."

**They don't understand and don't want to understand that there is a fascist in their midst, and that the old ways of parliamentarism are incompatible with his presence.**

On the psychological level, Fulbright's testimony probably illuminates the behavior of the Senators he knows so well. But behind the conduct of those exasperated or willfully blind Senators who are not McCarthyites themselves there must also be a strong political motivation. It is barely mentioned in the Alsop interview with Fulbright, but it is the most compelling element of all — namely, the fact that there are "those whom McCarthy can also paralyze with fear."

### HIS MAIN WEAPON

Not only some but most of the Senators have been effectively bulldozed and terrorized by McCarthy. Some he has brought into line by threats to blackmail them for financial irregularities and personal scandals uncovered by McCarthy's staff (which is financed by his big capitalist backers). Others he has silenced by threats to expose long-past associations with liberal, social democratic or Stalinist front organizations and individuals.

But his biggest weapon of intimidation is his threat to smear and drive out of public life as "communist coddlers" all those who get in the way of his drive for total political power.

This threat sends shivers down the spines of most of the Senators — frustrating, blinding or silencing them—because they grant McCarthy's premise that "communism" must be crushed at all costs or because, if they don't grant it, they are unable to challenge and refute it.

**McCarthyism can be deprived of its mass support only by exposing "anti-communism" as a whole—objectives AND methods—as part of a conspiracy to destroy the last traces of democracy in this country.**

But how can that be done by people who hail the objectives of McCarthyism and confine themselves to quibbling about its methods? How can that be done by capitalist politicians who themselves seize every opportunity to whip up the "anti-communist" hysteria?

The answer is that it isn't being, won't and can't be done by such people. They are too scared to stand up to McCarthy in the only way that would seriously damage him — by denouncing "anti-communism" both as a cover for promoting fascism (McCarthy) and as a pretext for the step-by-step establishment of a police state (Eisenhower and Truman), and by calling on the American people to mobilize for a life-or-death struggle against both of these competing and complementary forms of capitalist reaction.

### TWO FEARS

**But fear of McCarthyism is not the only motive for the Senate's conduct. If it were, the Flanders censure resolution would simply have been tabled. Besides the fear of McCarthyism there is also a fear of the anti-McCarthyite sentiment in the country, or at any rate an uncertainty of how formidable such sentiment has become.**

In our opinion anti-McCarthyism has become stronger in the last six months during which the White House has been trying to contain McCarthy. This doesn't mean that McCarthyism has been significantly weakened; on the contrary, McCarthy's personal popularity has dropped only a few per cent nationally, according to the public opinion polls. What has taken place recently is a polarization of pro- and anti-McCarthyism, with a big drop only among those who were formerly indifferent to or ignorant of the issue.

A straw in the wind was the anti-McCarthy resolution passed by the Massachusetts Federation of Labor convention while the Senate was gingerly handling the Flanders resolution. As anti-McCarthyite resolutions go, it was nothing to brag about or serve as a model. But Boston is one of the nation's strongholds of McCarthyism, and the Wisconsin fascist has considerable support there even in the labor movement. The resolution was hotly opposed by a number of delegates, but it was adopted anyhow. Its mere introduction was rightly considered national news.

Fear of McCarthy led the Senate to duck the vote on the Flanders resolution. But fear of anti-McCarthyism in an election year prevented it from killing the Flanders resolution outright. Torn by two fears, it decided to stave off any real decision by postponing the issue. Maybe in the meantime something, somehow, somewhere would turn up to relieve "the greatest parliamentary body in the world" of having to offend the McCarthy camp or its opponents.

### CAMPAIGN PLANS

And meanwhile, what are they going to do in the election campaign? As of now, it appears, they plan—most of the Republicans and Democrats alike—to say nothing on McCarthyism, or the next thing to it.

**The Alsops, in their Aug. 9 column report that "after searching high and low in both parties" for a candidate who intends to make McCarthy an issue in his campaign, they "have drawn a total blank."**

When they asked Rep. George Bender (R-Ohio), a candidate for the Senate who "used to have McCarthy tendencies," what stand he was going to take on McCarthyism, Bender answered: "I don't propose to enter into that situation any way at all, and I propose to say so frankly to the voters."

Another reactionary Republican Senate candidate, Joseph Meek of Illinois, said he "can't quite understand what all the excitement is about" and "just can't see why it's an issue in Illinois."

This phenomenon extends to liberal as well as reactionary Republicans. A month or two ago Clifford Case, Senate candidate in New Jersey who has been blessed by Eisenhower and who used to get ADA and CIO support for his congressional campaigns, came out with a hot blast against McCarthy. This produced strong resentment in his own party, and even demands that he withdraw.

So on Aug. 9 Case went to Washington for a meeting with Eisenhower, Nixon — and McCarthy's No. 1 Senate defender, Dirksen of Illinois.

When their luncheon was done, a White House source told the press that Case "has promised to issue a statement repudiating the ADA and to steer clear of any more unnecessary McCarthy statements. McCarthy is not and never has been an issue in New Jersey." And Dirksen announced that he will go to New Jersey to campaign for Case.

"Wherever you look, from Massachusetts to California," say the Alsops, "you will find candidates who 'don't even intend to mention it'." And this is just as true of the Democrats as of the Republicans.

### DEMOCRATS TOO

Sen. Douglas (D.-Ill.) answered the Alsops with a Shakespearian quotation that meant if Meek "wants a fight on the McCarthy issue, he can have one. But Douglas himself isn't going to start anything."

And Patrick McNamara, Democratic Senate candidate in Michigan and an AFL leader, replied: "Things are in such a fluid state it is difficult to put into words." Anyhow, he has "no particular plans for making McCarthy an issue right now."

The Alsops' explanation for the Democrats' silence is this: "It is because so many hard-core McCarthyites have been Democrats that Democratic campaigners, with a few notable exceptions, have tended to weasel on McCarthy."

That is part of the explanation. But a bigger part is that the Democrats share McCarthy's "anti-communist" premises and fear both him and the anti-McCarthy sentiments of a large number of voters.

### WHAT THEY'LL DO

If the capitalist politicians propose to be silent on McCarthy during the election campaign, then it is quite clear how they will act if they are called back to Washington before the election to vote on the new probe committee's report, assuming that that happens.

(1) Under no circumstances will they take serious disciplinary action against McCarthy, such as impeaching or removing him from committee chairmanships.

(2) Even a censure motion (ducked by this same body on Aug. 2 by 75 to 12) will fall far short of receiving a majority vote.

**(3) If any kind of motion is passed (and that will happen only if the Senate's fear of McCarthy is exceeded by its fear of the anti-McCarthy voters), it will be a mild reprimand, admonishing McCarthy to conduct himself in a more dignified and decorous manner in the future; and even this will be negated by a commendation of McCarthy for promoting worthy "anti-communist" objectives.**

Assuming, we repeat, that the Senate does anything at all before the elections—which is a pretty big assumption in the light of its cowardly conduct up to now.


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# Hoover Close to McCarthy

Here are some of the main points former president Herbert Hoover made in his 80th birthday speech at West Branch, Iowa, Aug. 10:

The Democratic Party which ruled for "twenty years before this administration" committed the crime of recognizing the Soviet Union in 1933. This act "opened the headgates for torrents of traitors" in our midst.

It led to "giving aid to the Soviet government" when it was attacked by Hitler. This blunder "spread communism over the earth."

The world-wide "communist conspiracy" recruits traitors in the United States: "The recruiting ground for their agents are from our minority of fuzzy-minded intellectuals (egg-heads) and labor leaders."

But we are doing all right in ferreting out this type of traitor. "Our great concern should be the other varieties of Karl Marx virus."

The carriers of the Karl Marx "virus" are the "socialists" who advocate the poisonous idea "that the government should guarantee every citizen security from cradle to grave," an idea which is obviously in contradiction to the Biblical "judgment of the Lord to Adam about sweat."

Hoover concludes his tirade against the Democrats who opened the "headgates to torrents of treason" and the Karl Marx virus of "socialism" with the warning: "If anyone rises to say that all this is reactionary, you may class him as either fuzzy-minded or an ignorant enemy of free men."

There is a striking resemblance between Hoover's speech and the program peddled by the fascist McCarthy. The theme of "twenty years of treason" is woven together with the idea that the same "fuzzy-minded intellectuals and labor leaders" who are the "recruiting ground of traitors" are also responsible for domestic "viruses" — the "Welfare State" and "socialism."

By "socialism" Hoover means the whole structure of the modern American labor movement. He means the security the unions have won for the working people. He means the social legislation that has been won in decades of struggle.

Hoover is not a fascist. He is however a representative of some of the most reactionary, bigoted and labor-hating sections of Big Business. Not many workers will listen in sympathy to this symbol of breadlines, Hoovervilles, and armed assault on the Bonus Army. But his utterances reveal the mood of certain Big Business circles.

These are fascist-minded to the core. They hate and fear the American working class. They will not rest easy in their Union League Clubs and on their yachts until "free enterprise" is restored — that is, until they have smashed the unions and social security legislation, and all the rest of that "socialistic" stuff.

Hoover's ideas are close to McCarthy's. The difference is that McCarthy is organizing a fascist movement to carry out these objectives. And Hoover shows that he and his ilk have nothing but sympathy for this venture.

# The Ft. Dix Cruelty Case

Few people are going to believe the Pentagon's propaganda about the "new" and "more democratic" Army after a special Army courts-martial of hand-picked brass handed down their Not Guilty verdicts in the cases of 1st Lt. Robert S. Morgan and Sgt. 1st Class Richard J. Witbeck.

Morgan and Witbeck were tried on the charge of "cruel and unusual mass punishment" to 225 Fort Dix, N. J., trainees who were forced to stand at attention for an hour under a broiling sun in 92-degree heat. A dozen men fainted, one of them twice. But they were ordered revived with water from the cigarette butt-cans and forced to line up again.

Lt. Morgan was acquitted on his own story — refuted by three eye-witnesses — that he was not on the scene but in his office at the time of the event and had not given orders for the punishment. At the subsequent trial of Sgt. Witbeck, the same three eye-witnesses again testified that the lieutenant was on the scene and had ordered water thrown on the unconscious men. This testimony was used to acquit the sergeant, on the grounds that he was carrying out the orders of his commanding officer, who had previously denied giving the orders.

Nobody denies the facts of the ordeal to which the trainees were submitted. But if the courts-martial verdicts are accepted, then we must believe the men stood for an hour in sizzling 92-degree heat just because they didn't know enough to get out of the sun. The officers were not responsible.

Most of the capitalist press itself could not repress an expression of dissatisfaction with the verdicts. The N. Y. Daily News, while dismissing the incident as "not of top importance," observes that the Army is "hard up for volunteers" and fears that "when the news gets around that Army judges have okayed the Morgan-Witbeck performance . . . what will be the effect on the recruiting campaigns?"

The truth is that the "Morgan-Witbeck performance" is nothing new or exceptional in the Army. Capt. Norman Tupper, Sgt. Witbeck's defense counsel, pooh-poohed the trainees' ordeal and, speaking of standing at attention for long periods, boasted: "I've done it many times. We do it in parades in New York many times. I've seen men passing out all around me."

This shows the real attitude of the professional officer caste who run the Army and have the power of life and death over the men. Cruelty is a system with them — a system that is designed to crush the spirit and terrorize into unquestioning and unthinking obedience.

They do not hope to have an Army that will fight because the men believe they have something to fight for. The Pentagon knows that U.S. imperialism's objectives are world conquest and enslavement of other peoples. You can't get decent men to fight for that. You have to drive them with a whip. The "Morgan-Witbeck performance" is a top-important example.

# Eisenhower Packages for East Germany

The announcement of the Stalinist government of East Germany Aug. 6 that it will accept Eisenhower's July 29 proffer of aid to flood victims in that country marks a 180 degree shift in Kremlin policy. As usual it was made without the slightest explanation.

Only a few days ago, Neues Deutschland, official organ of the East German Communist Party, denounced Eisenhower's offer as a dirty scheme for recruiting agents and spies for the United States. This was a straight continuation of the Kremlin's position following the historic rebellion of the East German workers on June 17, 1953.

At that time, the Eisenhower administration, seeking to take advantage of the uprising, sent millions of packages to Berlin for free distribution. This was attacked by Premier Otto Grotewohl as an "insult and a provocation." Eisenhower's offer at that time of $15,000,000 in food for the starving workers was rejected as a crude attempt by American imperialism to recruit spies and saboteurs.

But on Aug. 6 Grotewohl thanked Eisenhower for his new offer "with expressions of highest esteem" for Wall Street's man in the White House.

How is this startling shift to be interpreted?

Last year, the workers themselves, defying the oppressive regime saddled on them by the Kremlin against their will, took Eisenhower's packages the way they would have accepted arms — to strengthen their own independent position without the slightest concession to American Big Business. This fact was soon recognized by the Eisenhower administration, which stopped giving the food parcels away.

Before that happened, however, the East German workers by pouring into Berlin for the handouts gave a fresh demonstration of their bitter opposition to the Kremlin puppets.

Since then, the East German government has carried out purge after purge, seeking to isolate and arrest the rank and file leaders of the great resistance movement. At the same time they promised concessions in hope of allaying the deep unrest of the masses.

The present acceptance of Eisenhower's offer of food will undoubtedly be presented to the working people as a fresh concession of the Stalinist regime. It is timed significantly enough with the new wave of strikes in West Germany which the Stalinists fear may provide the spark for another rebellion in East Germany.

It is also aimed as another demonstration of the willingness of the Kremlin to "peacefully coexist," that is, willingly cooperate with Wall Street. It follows the perfidious sellout at Geneva of the freedom movement of the Indochinese people.

Last year, when the hungry East German workers decided of their own volition to accept the Eisenhower food parcels, the Militant supported their action. We did it while clearly explaining and opposing the reactionary aims of the Eisenhower administration in offering the food. For this we were severely taken to task by the followers of Pablo, who supported Grotewohl's rejection of the free handouts and who sneered at the revolutionary-minded workers who accepted them. The Pabloites even misrepresented our position as evidence of "capitulation" to American imperialism!

We await with interest the reaction of the Pabloites to the abrupt reversal of Grotewohl's position. Is it OK to accept Eisenhower's handouts now that the Kremlin gauleiters have generously given their official stamp of approval?

# Is Eisenhower Attempting "Coexistence"?

By Joseph Hansen

**When Eisenhower increased the tariff on Swiss watches up to 50% July 27, the official explanation offered by the White House was that considerations of national security required it. The explanation referred to a government report according to the July 28 N. Y. Times, that emphasized an "active jeweled watch industry with a nucleus of skilled workers must be available to produce fuses and other timing devices in event of war."**

But if this move was part of preparations for immediate war, it included a serious overhead cost. The Swiss bourgeoisie, who are deemed allies by the Eisenhower administration, expressed strong indignation. And the capitalists of Western Europe voiced their alarm that the move was but the first of a series aimed at excluding them from the American market.

Joseph C. Harsch, the well-informed Washington correspondent of the Christian Science Monitor, advances an explanation that differs considerably from the official one. "The decision against Swiss watches," he said July 30, "fits a coexistence pattern of policy. If the United States is prepared to coexist with the Communist world, it can afford to deal a severe blow at the economy of Switzerland, because Switzerland can compensate itself, more or less, by trading with the Communist countries."

Harsch notes the "growing dualism in the course of American behavior." On the one hand the "American voice" has been "louder in its denunciations of things done behind the Iron Curtain" and "in protest against the concept of coexistence."

"Yet at the same time," he says, "many things have been done which belong to a coexistence policy."

### LOWER TRADE BARRIERS

Among the things he lists besides the increased tariff on watches is the agreement of the Eisenhower administration "to cut from 250 to 170 the number of items on the list of goods" which the Western powers "are forbidden to sell to Communist countries." The new list goes into effect Aug. 16.

Harsch also observes that at the very height of the crisis over the shooting down of Chinese planes near Hainan island, Soviet Ambassador Zarubin and Secretary of State Dulles held an amicable conference, not about sending an American delegation to a Soviet agricultural fair opening in Moscow on Aug. 1.

**In his Aug. 5 column, Harsch declared that by its silence when dictator Rhee of Korea demanded immediate war with the Soviet Union, "Congress has decreed that there shall at least be a period of attempted coexistence before we again come as close as we have of recent weeks to the Soviet wars."**

### FOUR STAGES

Harsch's opinion is all the more solid in view of his conviction that an eventual war between the United States and the Soviet Union is a certainty. As he sees it there will not be "a simple two-stage transition from the German wars to the Soviet wars" (stage one being the falling apart of the World War II alliance and stage two a decisive military struggle) but four stages. The two intervening stages are (1) "The story of attempted coexistence must first be written." (2) "After that there must, reasonably, be at least the story of its collapse before the war tension mounts again."

**The possibility of some kind of temporary deal between Washington and Moscow was long ago forecast by the Militant. After Eisenhower won the 1952 election, but before he was sworn in, we predicted the likelihood of his administration making a turn in that direction.**

The truce in Korea and then in Indochina were prominent markers in this course of foreign policy. Now it is being increasingly recognized among the more astute observers in the capitalist press as the real line Eisenhower is following in relation to the Kremlin.

### "MODUS VIVENDI"

What is the meaning of "peaceful coexistence" or a "modus vivendi," as the capitalist spokesmen prefer to call it?

First of all, through such an understanding Wall Street would try to recoup its diplomatic position which is very bad at present. The launching of the cold war, culminating in the plunge into the Korean civil war, was universally interpreted abroad as evidence of capitalist America's war-mongering tendency. The majority in every country abroad viewed the facts as proof that American Big Business sought to plunge the world into an atomic conflict that could doom civilization.

**Thus the shift to a softer line, an "attempt" at coexistence, would aim at demonstrating the peace-loving proclivities of the dollar plutocracy. That is standard procedure in preparing for war.**

Secondly, an essential part of the "modus vivendi" would be utilization of the services of the Kremlin in containing the revolutionary potential of the masses in Europe and in the colonial world since this is the only real force that can definitively upset the capitalist apple cart.

The Malenkov regime is only too eager to join in this unspeakably reactionary game. In the case of Indochina, as recent issues of the Militant have noted, the Stalinists by way of anticipation served up an enticing dish to French and American capitalism.

Isaac Deutscher, who knows how to apologize for the Stalinists, noted this in the Aug. 5 Manchester Guardian. "If the struggle had continued," he said, "Ho Chi Minh's armies might, in a few sweeping offensives have conquered the whole of Indochina as Mao Tse-tung's armies conquered the whole of China five years ago."

Deutscher observed quite accurately that the "armistice signed in Geneva makes little or no sense from the viewpoint of the Vietminh alone. It does not in any way correspond to the local balance of strength, which has been much more favorable to the Vietminh than are the terms of the armistice."

He even calls it a "betrayal," putting the word in quotation marks, undoubtedly out of deference to the Kremlin, and he thinks that "some people in Ho Chi Minh's entourage and in the rank and file of his armies may well resent" what happened at Geneva.

In addition to such open and gross betrayals of the struggle against the capitalist west, the Stalinists can deliver in other ways.

Their policy in Iran, for example, deliberately paved the way for the counter-revolution which swept the Mossadegh regime into the ash can and restored British and American domination of the country.

The same was true of their policy in Guatemala. The Stalinists did everything possible to sow confidence in the Arbenz government. When this folded up under attack from United Fruit and the State Department, the Guatemalan workers and peasants were left without leadership in the hour of crisis. The result was another victory for counter-revolution.

**These betrayals of promising colonial movements are only small change in comparison to what the Stalinists can delivery by misleading the workers of such countries as France and Italy.**

### DECEPTIVE LULL

When these betrayals have run their course and demoralization has done its cancerous work, then Wall Street can end the chapter of "attempted" coexistence. Meanwhile it will have done everything possible to strengthen its military positions abroad and its political and social positions in the United States.

A period of "peaceful coexistence" can thus turn out to be the deceptive lull before the catastrophic storm of World War III.

How thoroughly the Eisenhower administration, continuing in the footsteps of Truman, is committed to eventual war with the Soviet Union can be judged from the admissions July 31 of Assistant Secretary of Defense John A. Hannah. In announcing a sweeping new compulsory draft plan approved by the Eisenhower administration, Hannah declared:

**"The whole thing is geared to the day of active war with the Soviet Union." He announced moreover to a news conference that "Everyone up to the President agrees that we must have an effective reserve to meet the requirements of war with the Soviets. And that is the only war that counts."**

That is plain speaking. It should serve to alert every militant to the real long-range intentions of Wall Street's representatives in Washington.

# Picket Lines Close German Plants In First Big Strikes Since Hitler

By Paul Abbott

**The German labor movement, potentially the most powerful in Europe, is once again on the march. For the first time since Hitler came to power the trade unions have launched what is rapidly shaping up to be a major test of strength. The test is all the more significant in that it occurs under the threat of the hundreds of thousands of troops of the Allied powers occupying West Germany.**

The movement began Aug. 4 when 15,000 public service workers in Hamburg struck for higher wages. It was the first strike of its kind in this city in more than 50 years. The workers demanded a 2.3 cent hourly wage increase and a flat 6% increase for employees paid on a monthly basis.

This was the first contingent to go on the picket lines. Elsewhere hundreds of thousands of workers were pressing similar demands under threat of strike.

The Coal Miners Union had opened negotiations for a new contract. The Bavarian metal workers were scheduled to strike Aug. 9 unless their demands were met. The metal workers of the key Ruhr district and of North Rhine-Westphalia also demanded an increase in pay.

Other workers in movement included forestry, textile, chemical, ceramics, construction, farm, and postal services.

### PROTEST U.S. SEIZURE

On Aug. 5 the dockworkers of Bremerhaven joined homeowners to protest U.S. seizure of property for construction of a U.S. Army project. Some 1,500 dockworkers used a bulldozer to drive the surveyors, the police and construction details from the premises.

In Hamburg, meanwhile, the strikers ordered maintenance crews to reduce water and gas pressures in the mains to half pressure when the city government persisted in refusing to grant wage demands.

In Cologne, municipal bus drivers staged a three-hour sympathy strike, walking off the job without permission from their union leaders.

On the following day, the resistance movement at Bremerhaven to the U.S. Army requisition of property swelled until it involved 5,000 shipyard workers. When Mayor Gullasch appeared before a crowd to make a speech, he was surrounded by jeering spectators. He fled to a wooden hut and locked himself in. It took four carloads of police to club their way through the crowd to rescue the beleaguered official.

**In Hamburg, the strikers voted overwhelmingly Aug. 8 to reject a proposal from city authorities to grant them half their demands. More than 1,000 municipal streetcars, 360 subway trains and 100 buses were idle, and water and gas in the mains remained at half pressure.**

On the same day in Duisberg, Europe's greatest inland port, the Public Services Transport and Communications Union, which controls river shipping on the Rhine, demanded negotiations on a 2.8 cents hourly increase.

### MOVEMENT SWELLS

In the Ruhr, 900,000 metal workers made the same demand. And 300,000 coal miners asked for new wage negotiations. In the Rhineland-Palatinate, the Metal Workers Union cancelled its contract.

The National Executive Committee of the Transport and Public Service Workers Union, representing 825,000 workers requested all government bodies in West Germany to reply by Aug. 11 to a demand to negotiate for higher wages. The Civil Service Union, with 1,000,000 members, put in a bid for a 15% increase.

These unions were joined by the National Textile Workers, 428,000 members, who were said to have asked for a 50% increase.

In South Baden, the Office Workers Union cancelled its wage agreement as of Aug. 31. Their demand is for an 8% wage boost.

The Chemical, Paper and Ceramics Union likewise cancelled its contracts in the Rhineland-Palatinate and Rhine Hesse.

In Hesse even the policemen's union wants a 20% increase.

**By Aug. 9 the mushrooming strike movement had brought 250,000 metal workers out of some 600 plants in Bavaria. Pickets stoned a truckload of scabs at an Ingolstadt auto factory. And for the first time since Hitler smashed Germany's unions, pickets were on the lines in Munich.**

As reports continued to pour in from all over of workers on the move, the special correspondent of the N.Y. Times wrote from Bonn Aug. 8 that the rate at which new demands are being received "would seem to indicate a revolt against the effort of the Government and industrialists to maintain a low wage structure as the basis of the West German industry."

Last year, when the East German workers rose against the Stalinist government, the West German government and its Wall Street backers at first boasted of the quiescence that appeared to prevail among the workers on the "free" side of the Iron Curtain. On second thought, however, they indicated their fear that the East German movement might spread to West Germany.

It didn't then, although there were some rumblings. Today, as the German workers once again organize picket squads, the capitalists have real cause for foreboding. The present strike wave may be the first big signal of the revival of Europe's most dynamic labor movement. And that spells trouble not only for German imperialism and its Wall Street allies but also for the Stalinists who are trying to keep the East German workers in a straitjacket.

## Stimulus of Bathing

**"Coconut palms with crescent beaches" rim the 2½ miles of Puerto Rican shoreline purchased by Laurance S. Rockefeller, who, according to the Aug. 2 N. Y. World Telegram, "will develop" the property "to help stimulate the island's economy." The 225 acres of beachfront provide "both surf and sheltered bathing."**

# . . . Unemployment Figures

(Continued from page 1)

current levels of economic activity with those of several years ago. It is not enough that there be as many employed in 1954 as in 1951 or 1952.

"It is not enough to have 1954 manufacturing production at the 1951 level but 9% below last year. It is not enough to have purchasing power barely equal to that of preceding years."

**In fact, the AFL council cited government figures admitting that total wages during June and July were approximately $6 billion below the annual rate of the year before. "By contrast, if full prosperity had been maintained, total wages and salaries would have risen some $8 billion above last years' level."**

If there is anything that indicates that the American capitalist system is far from achieving "comparative stability," it is the new wave of permanent plant closedowns, corporation mergers and the withholding of dividends.

When a corporation like Studebaker threatens to close its doors, it is highly symptomatic of an unstable economy. What Studebaker threatens in auto, has already come to pass in several other industries, as reported in Carl Goodman's article on Page 2.

A merciless competitive war is under way in the auto industry. This has been marked by mergers of some of the few remaining companies outside of the "Big Three," General Motors, Ford and Chrysler. Hudson and Nash formed the American Motors Corporation on May 1. Kaiser took over Willys-Overland. And Studebaker and Packard stockholders are to vote on a merger proposition Aug. 17.

**The steel industry, which is now operating at only two-thirds of capacity, is likewise witnessing merger moves. It was confirmed on July 30 that Bethlehem Steel is discussing merger with Youngstown Sheet and Tube. The speeding up of concentration and monopoly of industry is a sign of intensified industrial warfare and instability.**

We cannot overlook the significance of the Chrysler Corporation's decision to cut its regular quarterly dividend in half, thus precipitating on Aug. 6 what the N.Y. Herald Tribune described as "one of the most hectic sessions the Stock Exchange ever had." The N.Y. Times composite of average stock prices declined 3.78 points in a day. It wouldn't take many such reports as Chrysler's to bury the stock market under a landslide. There's no "comparative stability" in that.

### ANOTHER SHOT OF DOPE?

This administration, like the previous Democratic ones, has no way of keeping the capitalist system "stable" except by bigger and bigger inflationary government spending for war purposes. Eisenhower's aides are talking about speeding up war orders and advancing the issuance of government contracts by six months. The administration is pushing for expansion of the $275 billion federal debt limit. **There can be no significant pick-up for the capitalist economy except another shot of the war spending dope. That's all that's left to keep the system going.**

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**Dorothy Schultz**
Sat., Aug. 21, 8:30 P. M.
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# THE MILITANT

VOLUME XVIII — MONDAY, AUGUST 16, 1954 — NUMBER 33


## The Negro Struggle

By Fred Hart

### Negro Women and Their Jobs

There are proportionally more Negro women than white women in the American labor force. They work at the harder and less desirable jobs. They are hit harder by unemployment. They earn much less. More husbands and wives both must work among Negroes than among whites. More Negro women workers have children under 18 to take care of. More of them are widowed or divorced.

You don't have to take our word for it. You can read the statistics in a government report published by the U.S. Women's Bureau of the Department of Labor and entitled "Negro Women and Their Jobs." The highlights are:

Among Negro women, 40% are in the labor force; among white women, 32%. Though Negroes are about 10% of the population, they are 13% of the women labor force.

Most Negro women workers have jobs "where part-time work is widespread and where annual earnings are low." 41% of them are employed in private households, that is, as servants. 19% are in the services (practical nurses, waitresses, elevator operators, etc.). 15% are production workers (over one-third of them in laundries and dry cleaning).

Unemployment is "more frequent among non-white women."

The average wage or salary of Negro women workers is $814 a year (or almost $16 a week) as compared to the white women workers average of $1,976 a year (or $38 a week). This means Negro women earn only 41% of what white women earn. (Negro families as a whole earn about half of what white families earn.)

Among non-white couples, the number having both husband and wife in the labor force rose from 23% in 1940 to 34% in 1950, while among white couples the increase was from 10% to 21% in that period.

Besides working, 48% of the Negro women workers have children beetwen the ages of six and 17; and 25% of them have children under six. Among white women workers the figures are 34% for the first group and 15% for the second.

Almost half of all Negro women workers are widowed or divorced, as against one-third of white women workers.

Negro women earn less than half of what white women earn (41%), and women as a whole earn less than half of what men as a whole earn (44%). There, in cold figures, is proof of the triple exploitation of Negro women workers — as workers, as women, and as Negroes. And there are the economic and social conditions which will induce the Negro women workers to play a leading role in the fight for a society of socialist equality to replace the present society in which they are the most oppressed.

## The Decisive Difference

By Reba Aubrey

Two-thirds of the world's population go to bed hungry every night. Such a broad sweeping statement is not likely to make the other one-third stop in their tracks, but if you've ever tried to go to sleep at night so hungry that your stomach hurts you'll be able to imagine what it means to go on that way day in and day out, year after year with no hope in sight.

Some of the desperate ways the "hungry" two-thirds are combing the countryside for food are reported by Labor's Daily of Aug. 4.

In Turkey, for example, the hungry eat "a wild berry, rich in vitamins," which is growing "right on their hillsides." The people there had "neglected" this berry because it seems the habit of eating it had become "unfashionable."

In Peru a "new food possibility" has been "rediscovered" in the high plateau "where it actually has been a staple food of the people since the ancient times of the Incas." The product, known as quinua, has a few serious drawbacks — it gives a very low yield per acre, ripens unevenly, is hard to thresh and worst of all, has "a strong, soapy taste."

Aside from all this it "has a high content of very digestible proteins, vitamins, starch and other basic nutrients." Peruvian specialists are working on the problem. "When experiments are completed and final results made known the advantages of quinua should lead to its greater use."

In Indonesia, where there are very few dairy cows, soybeans and peanuts are plentiful. The only difficulty with these "foods" is that they "are not suitable for the young child." It seems that unless the soybean is "properly treated," it acts as a laxative on the child. The Indonesian government is experimenting with a process that will "eliminate this objectionable characteristic."

In Chile, a development is underway "to help older children who don't get enough milk." Flour is being made from fish. Tests have shown that "during a 50-day period, 140 school children from seven to 14 years of age" ate the fish flour "without even knowing that it was there."

The explanation Labor's Daily offers for the fact that two-thirds of humanity go to bed hungry every night is that it is due to "inadequate food production in many areas of the world and poor distribution facilities for food surpluses."

It is true that there are "poor distribution facilities." In the United States, for example, the big problem is surpluses, which are so great that the government leaves wheat in great mountains in the open for lack of storage. But the "poor distribution" which prevents these surpluses from going to the hungry in other countries is due to the capitalist system, not lack of ships. America's ruling class would sooner see the wheat rot than distribute it without a profit or some sordid political gain.

The establishment of socialism would quickly end this insane state of affairs. By introducing planning on a world scale, hunger could rapidly be stamped out. And the hundreds of millions of people whose stomachs are empty today could begin utilizing their labor power to further expand production.

The difference between capitalism and socialism boils down to that simple but decisive difference for humanity — going to bed on a full or empty stomach.

## Notes from the News

**ONE OF AMERICA'S OUTSTANDING WOMEN,** Dr. Mary Church Terrell, stubborn fighter for human freedom and equality, died July 24 at the age of 90. For more than 60 years Dr. Terrell dedicated herself to the struggle against racial discrimination and for civil rights. She organized and became the first president of the National Association of Colored Women. In Berlin, Zurich and London, Dr. Terrell represented Negro women in their fight for equality. In 1909 she helped organize and became a charter member of the NAACP. In 1950, at the age of 86, Dr. Terrell and two other persons who had been refused service in a restaurant in Washington, began the fight that ended three years later in "a victory which opened the doors of restaurants to Negroes in the nation's capital."

* * *

**A NON-PROFIT MEDICAL SERVICE CORPORATION** in San Diego has won its fight to continue operating. San Diego's County Medical Society started litigation six years ago "seeking an injunction" to smash the Complete Service Bureau "on the grounds it was practicing medicine illegally by in effect splitting fees with laymen for medical services in violation of the State law." The L.A. Times quotes the State Supreme Court's majority opinion in July that "there is no valid objection to the formation of a non-profit medical service corporation" under State law.

* * *

**IT'S GOING TO BE A LONG COLD WINTER** for the increasing number of jobless in Anchorage, Fairbanks, Juneau, Ketchigan and Petersburg. Alaska's "construction boom of the last several years" is petering out. Lawrence E. Davies in the Aug. 7 N. Y. Times points out that "Jobs are scarcer and unemployment insurance claims have risen in numbers." He quotes Territorial Senator William Beltz, an Eskimo who heads the carpenters' union in Fairbanks, as saying: "The work isn't here. We have reached the peak and are tapering off."

* * *

**BIRTH IS UNACCEPTABLE** to the New York State Censor Board. Walt Disney's true-life adventure film, "The Vanishing Prairie" — approved by the Roman Catholic Legion of Decency and the Motion Picture Association of America — has been turned down by the board "because of a two-minute scene showing the birth of a buffalo calf," according to the Aug. 9 N. Y. Herald Tribune. "The MPA in giving the film its seal of approval, took note of the birth scene and said it 'saw nothing unusual or in bad taste. . .'"

**THE FARMER IS BEING SQUEEZED OFF THE LAND.** It is estimated by the Commerce Department that the regular five-year farm census this fall is likely to find fewer than 23 million living there — more than a million fewer than in 1950.

* * *

**COFFEE DRINKERS HAVE BEEN "TOOK"** to the tune of millions of dollars by a phony coffee shortage that never existed. The Federal Trade Commission, after a seven-month probe of why coffee prices took off for the wild blue yonder last December, came up with a detailed report that lays the blame squarely at the feet of United States and Brazilian coffee speculators. The report said that coffee price increases "cannot be explained in terms of competitive laws of supply and demand."

* * *

**PUERTO RICO'S MINIMUM WAGE** is 40c. an hour, but "some island employers are still trying to beat it." The Aug. 6 East Tennessee Labor News says that Casa Baldrich Co., one of the largest printshops in Puerto Rico, "has been found guilty of paying 35" of its 100 workers "less than the minimum." The firm has been "ordered to pay them $3,500 in back wages."

* * *

**VITO MARCANTONIO** died suddenly in New York of a heart attack Aug. 9 at the age of 51. Marcantonio's political career began in the Republican Party, but at one time or another he had the endorsement of both Democrats and Republicans. He was first elected to Congress in 1934 with Republican and City Fusion endorsement, but was dropped by the Republicans in 1936 and then joined the American Labor Party. He was again elected to Congress in 1938 on the strength of the personal machine he had built among minority groups in the Eighteenth District, but lost his seat in 1950 when the Republicans, Democrats and Liberals ganged up against him and elected a Tammany wheelhorse. For the last 18 years of his life he was backed by the Stalinists and in return generally followed their twists and turns. But he was always ready for a machine deal with either Republicans or Democrats. When the Stalinists backed Wagner for Mayor last year instead of the ALP candidate, Marcantonio publicly indicated his displeasure. In Nov. 1953 he resigned from the ALP and in Feb. 1954 announced the formation of a "Good Neighbor" party, a new name for his personal machine. He planned to make another bid for a Congressional seat this year, running as an "independent."

## Girl Scout Plot To Subvert U.S. Foiled by Legion

**An insidious plot to subvert the Republic has been nipped in the bud, thanks to the unwavering vigilance and undiluted patriotism of the American Legion in Illinois.**

Decent citizens everywhere, little suspecting the nefarious ruses of the subversive underground, were shocked and shaken at the sensational disclosure by the Legion on Aug. 6 that it has unearthed "Un-American influences" in the seemingly patriotic organization known as the Girl Scouts of America.

While loyal parents hastened to grill their young offspring to determine which of them had succumbed to the Marxist virus, the Legion moved vigorously to root out the deadly contamination by formally voting to withdraw "all support" from the Girl Scouts until they gave "irrefutable proof" to the public that they had returned to a state of unalloyed Americanism.

The Legion provided crushing evidence of the deep inroads that have been made in the Girl Scouts. It showed that the Girl Scouts 1953 handbook "gives the United Nations and One World citizenship precedence over American citizenship" and that the writings of un-named pro-communist authors "have been highly recommended in an official Girl Scout's magazine as authentic historic material." (Every well-informed American knows that the UN is a tool of the Kremlin and that historians are eggheads.)

A Girl Scouts official weakly attempted to reject the charges as "unwarranted and unfair," but was forced to admit that the Girl Scout handbook is now being rewritten to "revise" certain words which "apparently led to a misinterpretation of our program."

**Redblooded Americans would be misguided, however, if this victory leads them to sleep peacefully again. Who knows where, or when, "they" will strike again?**

## *Blocked McCarthy Censure*

Sen. William Knowland (R-Calif.), majority leader, beams at Vice Pres. Richard Nixon (right) after winning adoption of his motion blocking censure of fascist Sen. McCarthy.

## GEORGE CASTERLINE

**CLEVELAND—George F. Casterline, 46, affectionately known as "Candy" to the thousands of Cleveland auto workers for whom he fought from the early days of the CIO, died of lung cancer in the Cleveland Clinic Hospital on Aug. 1.**

"Candy" was one of the prominent volunteer organizers in the CIO organizing campaign here in the Thirties. He is particularly remembered for his tenacious work in attempting to organize Thompson Products, one of the few remaining open-shops in the auto industry.

For over 15 years, he persisted at the job of trying to crack what is regarded as the toughest nut in the industry. He was proud of the fact that during one of the UAW's Thompson Products campaign, the company president Crawford issued a leaflet attacking Casterline personally and carrying a cartoon of him labelled "'Candy' Casterline."

After his discharge from the Army "Candy" served as an international organizer for the UAW in again trying to unionize Thompson Products and it was the great disappointment of his life when the union was narrowly beaten in a vote, after a company campaign that employed every anti-union trick ever known and some new ones.

For the past seven years until his death, he worked as a grinder for the Ohio Crankshaft Co. He was an active member of UAW Local 91, serving as a department steward most of the time and as the local's vice president for one term. At various times he was a delegate to the CIO Council and the Cleveland Auto Council.

For a number of years "Candy" was a member of the Socialist Workers Party. In recent years he had discontinued his party activity, but he remained a believer in socialism to the end.

Friendly "Candy" was liked by everyone—except the bosses. Many UAW militants and local leaders paid their last respects to him at the funeral parlor. Two UAW Local 91 members were among the pallbearers at his funeral on Aug. 4.

## N.Y. Minorities Hit by Police Terror Raids

By Tom Denver

NEW YORK, Aug. 10 — Under pretext of fighting a mounting crime wave New York City Police Commissioner Adams has launched a campaign of terror against the youth and minority people.

From Tuesday through Sunday, Aug. 1, 238 persons were arrested on the pretense they were "potential" criminals. Special squads are continuing their raids in the Times Square and amusement areas of the city, picking up many youths and Puerto Ricans smeared by the capitalist press as "vicious hoodlums and undesirables."

The arrest of five Puerto Ricans for loitering in a congested area dressed in dungarees and "T" shirts is an example of what is involved.

**When they were booked at the station house it was discovered that dungarees and "T" shirts were the only uniforms the young working men could afford as members of a soft-ball team. When arrested they were on their way to a movie.**

**MUSIC LOVERS ARRESTED**

Another group of four Puerto Ricans were released after they explained that they were discussing music of which they were all very fond. They had been arrested for standing talking in a group.

**One magistrate, completely indifferent to the innocence of 42 similar victims who appeared before him, told them, "You're going to be picked up and picked up again, and you're going to jail. The police are not picking up everyone—just those who don't belong (in the raided areas)."**

Meanwhile Adams is using the hysteria created by his campaign to "rid the streets of hoodlums and undesirables" to push for his real aims. In a radio and television broadcast he asked for appropriations to provide for 7,000 more cops. He has already plastered the city with leaflets calling for recruits for the auxiliary police.

In order to prove his false theory that more cops mean less crime, he is going ahead with a scheme to turn loose 250 "trigger happy" rookie cops in a precinct in East Harlem which is predominantly Negro and Puerto Rican. With this addition to the already "experienced" cops in the area, crime may or may not go down but it can be expected that cases of police brutality will go up.

Mayor Wagner, elected as a "friend of labor," has endorsed this police campaign against the people of New York by pledging more aid to the cops.

**BEAUTIFYING THE CITY?**

Another capitalist politician, County Judge Samuel S. Leibowitz, advocates diverting funds for beautifying the city into the treasury of the police department.

If money is being spent to beautify the city, it is certainly not apparent in the working-class districts, especially East Harlem.

**What is apparent is that the Puerto Rican and Negro peoples and the youth of New York are being falsely branded as breeders of crime and a campaign of police terror has been launched against them.**

New York has long been plagued with police brutality. Up until recently it was largely confined to the Negro and Puerto Rican communities. Now it is being extended into other areas. That is why it is no longer safe to venture into even such a center as Times Square if you happen to be dressed in work clothes, or if you belong to a minority grouping.

## Our Readers Take the Floor

### Police Persecute Puerto Ricans

Editor:

The Militant should publicize and expose the program of fear and persecution which the police are unleashing against the least organized and most persecuted of New York City's people — the Puerto Ricans and the youth.

Look at some of the things that have happened recently: The trial of three young Puerto Ricans who were sentenced to death with the aid of forced "confessions"; the drive to clear the 42nd St. area of "undesirables" resulting in the widespread arrest of Puerto Ricans in that area; Police Commissioner Adams' request for 7,000 more cops and his selection of East Harlem (whose population is largely Puerto Rican and Negro) as the testing ground for his theory, "The more cops, the lower the crime rate."

All this seems to indicate a certain pattern: Isolate and segregate the Puerto Ricans; slander them and identify them with all the crime and problems of the city; intimidate and scare them so that they'll be fall guys for the city administration (and, incidentally, docile workers for the boss).

And the whole thing in camouflaged behind a screen of sensational stories about juvenile delinquency, a rising crime rate, the shooting of policemen and of course, sex crimes, the staple of the yellow press. The theory and practice of "club them down" get the widest publicity and encouragement.

More and more the police are assuming the role of arbiters as to who may walk the streets, at what time they may do so, and in what numbers. Under Hitler you couldn't have more than five people at a house at one time; in New York City it seems that if you are on the Police Department's blacklist you can't even walk the streets or go to a movie.

So far this insidious campaign has not been challenged except by isolated individuals or organizations. I suggest that the Militant and its readers get after the labor and community organizations and alert to them what is happening. The situation is loaded with dynamite, which could explode the worst reign of police terror ever seen in this city. Now is the time to begin answering the lies and exposing the plans of the uniformed hoods and their bosses.

Ralph Torres
New York City

### Jobs that Won't Be Missed

Editor:

Got a laugh out of your quotations from Karl Marx showing that crime and criminals are beneficial and even necessary for the capitalist system. Come to think of it, when capitalism goes and socialism comes, there are going to be tremendous occupational changes in this world. Think of all the jobs there will be no use for:

Soldiers and all the jobs supplying them, police (except maybe to handle traffic), professional politicians, most varieties of salesmen, advertising writers, announcers of radio and TV commercials, lawyers, "labor relations experts," FBI agents, "loyalty" probers and evaluators, jailers, censors, loan sharks, unemployment agency personnel, etc.

And this is only the beginning of my list of jobs that won't be missed. Extend this list, think of all the people whose labors could serve a socially useful purpose, and it's easy to see what an expansion there will be under socialism of production of the good things of life.

L. N.
Toledo, O

### They Lick Hand That Jails Them

Editor:

One thing I can't understand is how the leaders of the Communist Party can convince the members of the Communist Party, victims of a witch hunt started by the Democrats, that they should support the Democrats in the elections.

Don Hennes
New York City

### Let's Make Our Wishes Known

Editor:

Mrs. G. L. R.'s letter (Aug. 2) was very thought-provoking. Truly, there are a host of problems workers have that our unions should but don't concern themselves with. I am not a homeowner myself, but many union members are. If they would start demanding a union members homeowners league, as part of the labor movement, they could get one and then could do something effective to obtain a federal law to declare a moratorium on home payments by workers who lose their jobs through no fault of their own.

This is just one of the many things that unions should do to protect the welfare of workers. The thing is for us union members to make our wishes known — at union meetings, conferences and conventions and in letters to our union papers.

J. D.
Newark, N. J.

### Is Beauty Deeper Than Cosmetics?

Editor:

I appreciate Louise Manning's criticism in last week's Militant of my article "Sagging Cosmetic Lines Try a Face Lift." She raises some interesting and important questions that go beyond what was intended in my report in the July 26 issue of declining cosmetics sales and what the hucksters plan to do about it.

On one point, however, I must disagree with her. I do not believe that "beauty is predominantly monopolized by the wealthy" and that the "wealthy are beautiful because the workers are wretched."

It appears to me that you might just as well say that "morality is predominantly monopolized by the wealthy," and that the "wealthy are moral because the workers are immoral."

If you were to try to prove that the wealthy are beautiful by citing examples, certain difficulties would at once arise. Among the bourgeoisie, what period would you choose? The period of their rise, when the close-fisted miser and the puritanical house economist were the models? Or the period of imperialist expansion, when the pigeon-breasted officer strutting his war ribbons and medals is the model? Or a period of ostentatious wealth when the stockholder lounging on a yacht deck is the model? Clearly, it is difficult to find absolute beauty within bourgeois society. The ideal seems to change.

Seeking a firmer standard, we might go beyond the limits of capitalist society and compare its concepts of beauty with that of other societies. For example, the post-war American bourgeois ideal of the beautiful bosom — the upholstered, steel-girdered front (or the flattened chest recently decreed by Christian Dior to replace it) — would make an interesting subject for comparative study with say the Balinese ideal where women prefer their breasts free of clothing.

In the field of cosmetics we might compare the frozen mask of the neurosis-ridden bourgeois clothes-horse with the primitive who beautifies himself by filing his teeth, putting a bone in his nose, saucers in his ear lobes, and who makes his hair alluring with rancid butter. And, really, is the one more beautiful than the other?

Even in feet, it is difficult to find an absolute standard transcending society. The current bourgeois ideal of beauty there — a woman balanced on spiked heels — is perhaps better than the ideal of the rich Chinese mandarin whose wife, out of devotion to beauty, bound her feet. But then how do both compare with the sandal wearers? Or with those who go barefoot?

From a materialist point of view, the norms of beauty like the norms of morals, are functions of society. Although the relation may be remote, they are determined in the final analysis by the ruling class. The norms are far from fixed. And when a revolution comes along, they are often deposed with startling swiftness.

I think that when capitalist society gives way to socialism, and the new generations take stock of what they have inherited, not much in the bourgeois lumber-room of morals and beauty will prove very useful.

The new society will at first probably be much more interested in truth, above all the truth about the human mind, its physical under-structure, its endowments, its relation to other minds, its potentialities and how to realize them.

From the study of such patterns in the world brotherhood of enduring peace and well-being will emerge — if I may venture a prediction — completely new and unsuspected fields where the great artists of the future will again consider the problem of beauty on a qualitatively different level.

The emphasis on cosmetics in our miserable, superficial society will then be seen for what it really is, one of the signs of the barbarism of the times. Lovers of beauty in the new society will feel no need, I believe, to decorate lilies.

As to the feeling that Louise Manning expresses of my presenting "women as being a little ridiculous" despite my good intentions, I am somewhat at a loss for an answer. I do not deny that the unconscious can play tricks on us, but I hope that I will be held responsible only for what I was aware of.

I think most of the customs and norms of capitalist society are ridiculous and even vicious, including the customs and norms of wealthy bourgeois women. As for so-called "ordinary" women, whether housewives or workers, I think they are beautiful, no matter how toil-worn or seasoned in experience, for they are the ones who will be in the forefront of the struggle to build a new and better world.

They will be admired in future times the way we admire the hardy, axe-swinging pioneer women of America, for their beauty lies in their character and it is manifest not in the cosmetics they indulge in but the deeds they perform.

Jack Bustelo
New York City

### 'Why Don't You Help My Son?'

Editor:

Two FBI agents were conducting a routine investigation of a couple of suspected "reds" in Brooklyn. They were going door to door visiting the neighbors and trying to cajole or frighten them into offering scraps of information that could go into the files as evidence against the suspects.

One woman who was confronted by these characters at her door was confused until they went into their routine. Then she became indignant and angry.

It seems her 18-year-old son was recently drafted into the Army and stationed in Texas. The only Jew in his outfit, he has become the butt of anti-Semitic cracks and barrack-room "jokes." As if that wasn't bad enough, a couple of civilians in the small town near the base have joined in the Jew-baiting "sport" against him. On the whole, the lad feels pretty miserable.

All this was in the woman's mind as the FBI agents started asking questions about her neighbor. Angrily, she told them about her son and demanded: "Why don't you help my son? Why don't you do something about those people down there?" Then, without waiting for an answer and before shutting her door, she told them:

"The people you want to know about live two flights up. If you want to find out about them, go up and see them."

Tom Denver
New York City